

# THE MILITANT

EXCERPT FROM NEW BOOK

Under Pres. Clinton, incarceration  
and deportations soared

— PAGE 7

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. 80/NO. 44 NOVEMBER 21, 2016

## Ankara steps up attacks on Kurds in Turkey, Syria

BY MARK THOMPSON

The government of Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan has accelerated its offensive against the Kurdish population and a broader crackdown on political rights. Authorities arrested the co-chairs of the Kurdish-based Peoples' Democratic Party (HDP) and 10 other HDP members of parliament Nov. 4, accusing them of backing the outlawed Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK).

The repression goes hand in hand with Turkish military incursions in Iraq and Syria, where Ankara is seeking greater weight in relation to Washington and Moscow, and to its capitalist rivals in the region.

The chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, Joe Dunford, flew to Ankara Nov. 6 to "coordinate operational planning" against Islamic State with his Turkish counterpart and to "work through some challenging issues." Washington and Ankara are allies in NATO, but their aims aren't the same. The U.S. rulers want to sta-

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## Trade falters, farmers fail as US economy 'recovers'

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

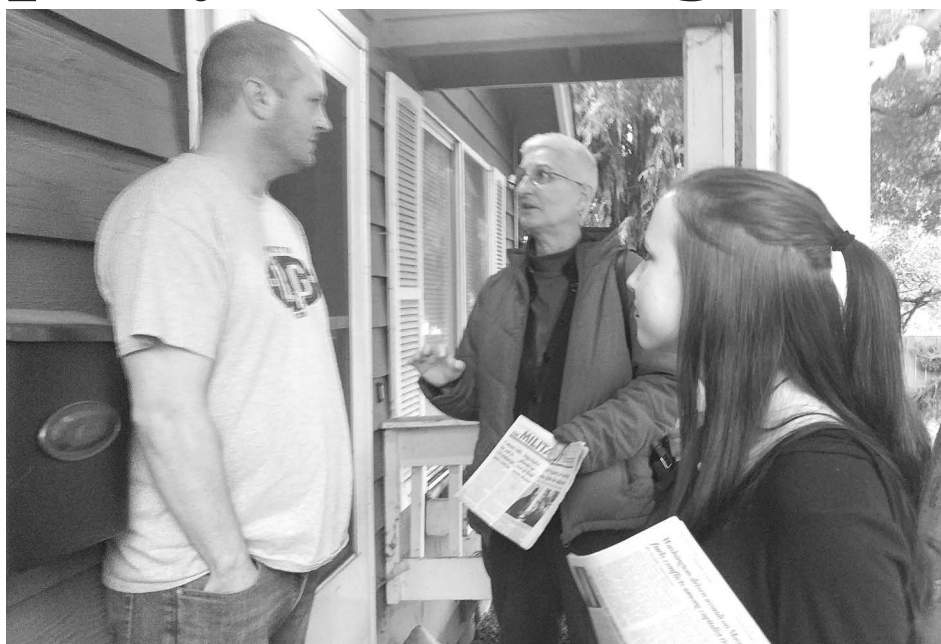
The U.S. capitalist economy is in the eighth year of what the government and capitalist media describe as an economic recovery. But in cities, smaller towns and farming areas, this recovery is marked by stagnation and contracting industrial production, meaning slow-burning depression conditions for tens of millions of working people. We face rising rents, stagnant wages, inflation in food costs and other basic necessities, a fall in median household and farm income, and historic lows in the percentage of workers actually holding a job.

"U.S. Economy Roars Back, Grew 2.9% in Third Quarter," headlined the *Wall Street Journal* Oct. 29. But a closer look shows that over the past decade average growth of the real gross domestic product "has plunged to just 1.3 percent," the lowest since the 1930s Depression, wrote investment advisor John P. Hussman in his Sept. 26 newsletter.

The third-quarter figures are based

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## Socialist Workers take party to working class



Militant/Edwin Fruit

High school student Tabitha Osborne-Rich joined Socialist Workers Party member Mary Martin, center, talking about politics and party with workers in Snohomish, Wash., Oct. 24.

### Election reflects effects on workers of capitalist crisis

BY MAGGIE TROWE

After confidently predicting that Democrat Hillary Clinton would take the presidency Nov. 8 and heaping scorn on workers who turned out to hear her challenger Republican Donald Trump, big sections of the propertied rulers and their media outlets, pollsters and pundits were stunned by Trump's victory.

The outcome came as no surprise, however, to millions of workers tarred as "deplorables" by Clinton. "'Deplo- rables' Rise Up to Reshape America," read a *Wall Street Journal* headline

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### SWP deepens door-to-door discussions with workers

BY MAGGIE TROWE

Across the country members of the Socialist Workers Party are deepening their political activity in the working class, knocking on workers' doors

**BUILD THE SWP,  
THE PARTY WORKERS NEED**  
— SWP statement, p. 9

to introduce the party, discuss the causes of the grinding economic and social crisis and how we can organize to unite our class and fight for work-

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## Philly transit strikers return to work after tentative contract deal



Striking Philadelphia transit workers, in early November. Workers went on strike to stand up to concession demands by SEPTA bosses on health care, pensions, safety and wages.

BY JANET POST

PHILADELPHIA — Some 4,700 members of Transport Workers Union Local 234 began returning to work Nov. 7 after negotiators from the union and the Southeastern Pennsylvania Transportation Authority announced a tentative agreement on a five-year contract.

After transit bosses refused to back off concession demands on health care, pensions, safety and wages,

the union representing operators and maintenance workers struck Nov. 1, halting buses, subways and trolleys across the city. SEPTA is the sixth largest public transit system in the country.

SEPTA managers and Democratic Party city and state politicians tried to turn working-class sentiment against the strikers, complaining their strike would make it harder for workers

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## SWP files to extend disclosure exemption, defend workers rights

BY NAOMI CRAINE

The Socialist Workers Party filed a request with the Federal Elections Commission Oct. 31 to extend the SWP's long-standing exemption from having to turn over the names, addresses and occupations of contributors to its election campaigns. First won in 1974, the exemption strengthens workers' ability to engage in independent working-class political activity free from interference by the government, bosses or right wingers.

"The SWP won and has maintained this exemption for the same reason the government and its cops have targeted the party from the beginning," John Studer, the Socialist Workers Party's national campaign director, told the *Militant* Nov. 7. "Over decades the SWP has shown its ability to chart a revolutionary political course to strengthen working-class struggles and to win workers to the fight to overturn the rule of capital. That includes mounting an effective

fight against disclosing supporters' names."

The SWP's disclosure exemption is justified because it has faced a "long history of being subject to both gov-

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—On the picket line, p. 5—

Los Angeles port truckers, warehouse workers strike

Minnesota nurses end 44-day strike against Allina Health



# In face of US embargo, Cuba led the fight against Ebola

BY SETH GALINSKY

UNITED NATIONS — In an Oct. 26 speech to the U.N. General Assembly, Ambassador Samantha Power explained why, for the first time in 25 years, Washington was abstaining on the annual resolution condemning the U.S. embargo of Cuba. Washington’s 55-year economic war against Cuba had isolated the U.S. government, not Havana, she said.

As part of sugarcoating U.S. imperialism’s hostility to the Cuban Revolution, Power cited Cuban-U.S. cooperation in the fight to combat the Ebola epidemic in 2014. Three thousand U.S. personnel went “to the epicenter of the outbreak,” she said, cynically adding that “President Obama also set about rallying other member states to do their part,” and that “one of the very first countries to come forward was Cuba.”

In his speech, Cuban Foreign Minister Bruno Rodríguez noted that when Cuban health workers were risking their lives treating Ebola patients, their work “was hampered” by the embargo because “even under such extreme circumstances” Washington blocked necessary fund transfers.

That’s just one example of how Power twisted reality on its head.

On Sept. 12, 2014, World Health Organization Director General Margaret Chan said there were only 170 foreign health care workers combating Ebola in West Africa. That day Cuba’s Public Health Minister Roberto Morales announced that Havana was sending 165 volunteer doctors and nurses to Sierra Leone. The number of Cuban interna-

tionalist volunteers fighting Ebola in West Africa rapidly grew to 256, more than from any other country.

While Cuba sent doctors, the U.S. Peace Corps evacuated all its personnel, including health education workers.

Cuba’s announcement put pressure on much wealthier governments. Soon after, Barack Obama said Washington would send military engineers as well as teachers to train health care workers in Liberia. The Cuban government from the start welcomed any U.S. contribution to the effort and offered to work together any way they could.

And the 3,000 U.S. personnel that Power bragged about?

They were mostly soldiers who did not treat a single patient. Instead, they were sent to build as many as 17 treatment centers — but only completed 10, some so late they were no longer needed.

Even capitalist dailies could not ignore



Dr. Pichy Vigil

While fighting the Ebola epidemic and working with youth to help prevent its spread in Port Loko, Sierra Leone, Cuban health workers also organized a soccer team for children there.

Cuba’s leading role. The U.N. “is calling for nations to dispatch doctors and nurses to West Africa,” the Oct. 9, 2014, *Wall Street Journal* reported. “Few have heeded the call, but one country has responded in strength: Cuba.”

Meanwhile, Rodríguez noted, Washington continues to promote “the shameful ‘Cuban Medical Professional Parole Program,’” trying to get Cuban doctors and nurses to abandon internationalist missions and move to the U.S.

## Cuban artists in UK: ‘Art isn’t a privilege, it’s a right’

BY JONATHAN SILBERMAN

LONDON — “Art is not a privilege in Cuba, it’s a right,” Chrislie Pérez told an audience of 60 people here Oct. 14. The meeting “Cuban Arts: Here and Now” heard from artists featured in *¡Presente!*, an exhibit of contemporary Cuban art at the GX Gallery. Pérez, one of the curators, and fellow Cuban artists Adislén Reyes, Luis Camejo and Mario González shared the platform with Cuban Ambassador Teresita Vicente and Cuban-born writer Pedro Pérez Sarduy. “Culture has been central to the Cu-

ban Revolution from its triumph in 1959,” Vicente said. “One of the first initiatives of the revolutionary government was the mobilization of hundreds of thousands of young people in a successful campaign to eradicate illiteracy.

“Today musicians, writers, artists, actors and others are traveling to areas hit by Hurricane Matthew,” she said. “They’re involved in the reconstruction work as well as giving performances.”

“It’s been the same at all major political events,” Pérez Sarduy chimed in. “I was both in the militia and studying literature during the 1962 October crisis,” commonly known outside of the island as the Cuban missile crisis. “At the time Fidel Castro promoted both culture and the struggle against Washington’s invasion plans,” he said.

“There are 25,000 people in Cuba officially designated as artists,” said Reyes, who also works as an art teacher. “Most have gone through art school, but some are just talented individuals. Art is taught at every primary school.”

“We are paid by the state and we have

individual clients,” said González. “We pay taxes on what we sell.”

González was famously involved 10 years ago in “Monstrous Devourers of Energy” in which 50 artists turned old fridges into artworks — part of a government-led campaign to reduce energy use through the distribution of more efficient electrical goods and light bulbs.

“What we paint, sculpture, install is up to us — we are not victims of censorship,” he said, in response to a question they were often asked during their stay in the U.K. “It’s totally different from what happened in the Soviet Union.”

Cultural work, like every aspect of Cuban life, is deeply impacted by the U.S. embargo, ambassador Vicente pointed out. “This economic war even extends to access to artists’ materials. We have to get them from China, instead of just 90 miles away from the U.S.”

*¡Presente!* ran through Oct. 29 and was organized by the Music Fund for Cuba charity with support from the Cuba Solidarity Campaign, which hosted the Oct. 14 event.

## THE MILITANT

### Stop government attacks on refugees!

*Capitalist rulers across the world seek to divide the working class by making immigrants and refugees scapegoats for their economic and political crisis today.*

*The ‘Militant’ features struggles that reject this divide-and-rule strategy, advancing unity and solidarity.*



Reuters/Philippe Wojazer

Refugees leave “Jungle” camp in Calais, France, Oct. 27 as bulldozers tear it down.

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# SWP takes party to workers

**Continued from front page**  
ers' power. The SWP is in the middle of a 10-day effort Nov. 3-12 to take advantage of the publication of *The Clintons' Anti-Working-Class Record: Why Washington Fears Working People*, by National Secretary Jack Barnes, to advance this course.

SWP members present the party's program and record of struggle as the way forward out of capitalism's march toward war and depression and invite others to join them.

Many workers and young people respond to the appeal. Tabitha Osborne-Rich first heard of the Socialist Workers Party when Mary Martin, the party's candidate for governor of Washington, spoke at her high school in Snohomish in October. A few weeks later, she joined Martin to knock on doors in the working-class neighborhood where she lives, enjoyed the experience, and did it again on Nov. 4.

That day they met Denise, who works at an assisted living center for the elderly and makes just above minimum wage. "I just moved into this rental house from an apartment, but it's impossible to buy a home!" she said.

Osborne-Rich said neither of the capitalist parties solve the problems workers face and showed her *The Clintons' Anti-Working-Class Record*. Denise told her to come back with the book early in the week when she gets paid.

Osborne-Rich wants to continue joining with party members to reach workers.

The SWP rejects the rulers' contempt-

uous portrayal of our class as "deplorables" or "irredeemable," as Hillary Clinton called us and the pro-Clinton media repeated. The rulers' fear the working class, fear its potential to gain confidence through struggle and rise to end the dictatorship of capital, to build a new society on proletarian bonds of solidarity.

There are no sustained labor or social struggles to join and help lead forward today. But there is a wide-ranging and angry discussion going on about the crisis conditions the bosses and their government are pushing on our backs — in workers' homes, bars, barbershops and elsewhere. The SWP is joining this discussion to win workers to the party.

On Nov. 11 Militant Labor Forums across the country will discuss the results of the elections and the political course the party is on. The gatherings will point to the example the Cuban Revolution sets about the capacity of working people to transform themselves in revolutionary struggle and overthrow the dog-eat-dog social relations of capitalism.

Along with other members, New York SWP leader Jacob Perasso visited the picket line of workers at the Momentive Performance Materials plant in Waterford, New York, Nov. 4 to express solidarity. The 700 members of IUE-CWA Local 81359 had walked off the job two days earlier. The socialists discussed how the capitalist crisis spurs bosses to attack unions. They described how the SWP goes door to door in working-class areas to promote its program, recruit and build support for struggles such as theirs.

"I have friends and family that would be interested in what you are saying," striker Brandon Gulneck, 23, told them. "You should come to Stillwater, where I'm from, to knock on doors."

## Party-Building Fund picks up, needs further boost

BY EMMA JOHNSON

Collections for the Socialist Workers Party-Building Fund picked up this week with nearly \$12,000 paid. With four weeks to go in the effort to reach \$100,000 by Dec. 7, this is a trend that we need to build on.

The annual party-building fund, based on contributions from workers, is essential to finance the SWP's work. Those who are interested in the party



Militant/John Staggs

**Osborne Hart, member of Socialist Workers Party in Philadelphia who ran as party's candidate for vice president, talks with transit worker Kassie Stanford during recent SEPTA strike. SWP joins widespread discussion in working class, building party workers need.**

"We'll be back in a couple days," Perasso responded, "and it will help if you can join us." Gulneck said he looked forward to it.

Members in New York have gone to workers districts in Brooklyn, the Bronx, Manhattan, Staten Island and Yonkers; to Weehawken, Jersey City and Elmwood Park, New Jersey; and to Vermont. They have joined party members in Philadelphia to show solidarity with the SEPTA transit workers who were on strike there.

"People are eager to discuss what workers can do about the economic and moral breakdown of capitalism," said Emma Johnson from SWP in New York.

"We met a Dominican-born woman in Washington Heights who was quite interested," Johnson reported. "She works making sandwiches and doesn't make enough to pay the rent so she shares an apartment with several roommates. We discussed how the crisis affects workers in the Dominican

Republic and Puerto Rico and how Cuba's workers and farmers made a revolution. She bought a copy of *The Clintons' Anti-Working-Class Record* and thanked us for coming. We're organizing to get together again and talk some more."

Jacob Perasso in New York and Mary Martin in Seattle contributed to this article.

### SWP campaign fund over the top!

The \$40,000 fund to cover the expenses for the Socialist Workers Party's 2016 presidential campaign went over the top, with \$40,462 collected.

A big thanks to everyone who contributed and made it possible to take the SWP campaign across the country and beyond.

### Chicago An Evening in Solidarity With Cuba End Washington's Blockade! Return Guantánamo!

**Speakers:** Miguel Fraga, first secretary Cuban Embassy, Washington D.C.; Sandra Ramírez, North American director, Cuban Institute for Friendship with the Peoples; José López, executive director Puerto Rican Cultural Center, brother of Oscar López; Harold Rogers, Coalition of Black Trade Unionists; Aislinn Pulley, Black Lives Matter.

**Sat., Nov. 19, 7:30 p.m.**

Chicago Student Center East, Room 302, University of Illinois 750 S. Halsted.

*Sponsors include: Chicago Cuba Coalition, National Network on Cuba, Int'l Committee for Peace Justice and Dignity. For more info: (312) 952-2618.*

### 'NY Times' asks SWP supporters to vote for Clinton

The Oct. 29 issue of the *New York Times* speaks volumes about the level of desperation reached by the paper's editors — determined to pull out all the stops to defeat Donald Trump and put the Clinton family back in the White House.

In a paper whose propertied owners never mention the Socialist Workers Party as a matter of policy, that day's leading op-ed had the sole aim of reaching those considering a vote for the SWP presidential ticket of Alyson Kennedy and Osborne Hart.

The column featured by the editors was written by Saïd Sayrafiezadeh, who says his parents belonged to the SWP. He explains the party isn't after a "protest vote," but acts "to participate in politics using whatever means the capitalist system has allowed so as to eventually be able to overthrow the capitalist system."

But in *this* election, with its "stark contrast between Mrs. Clinton and Donald J. Trump," he says, workers drawn to the SWP have to jettison their communist principles, "at least this time around."

In their panic, the old-money ruling-class family that runs the *Times* has to address workers attracted to the party. "Stop trying to make the world a better place," they cry; suck it up and vote Clinton.

— EMMA JOHNSON

and its program are encouraged to contribute as generously as possible.

"The question is not whether we will make it, but how much we'll go over," said Joe Swanson from Lincoln, Nebraska. "We got off to a slow start, but now we're on the move."

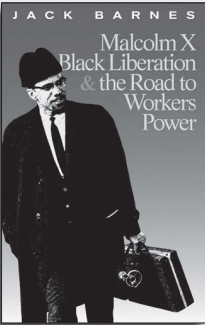
Swanson said he always discusses funding the party with workers and young people he meets, whether it's at the doorstep, a political meeting, or on a picket line.

"I ask everybody for money," he said. "If they get a single copy of the *Militant* or a subscription or a book, I raise it. I explain that contributions like theirs are what the party stands on."

Both before the elections and after,

### Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power

by Jack Barnes \$20



pathfinderpress.com

### Socialist Workers Party-Building Fund Sept. 24 - Dec. 7 - Week 6

Area	Quota	Collected	%
Atlanta	\$11,000	\$6,983	63%
Chicago	\$11,500	\$3,788	33%
Lincoln	\$300	\$177	59%
Los Angeles	\$9,000	\$4,274	47%
Miami	\$3,500	\$1,145	33%
New York	\$22,500	\$9,289	41%
Oakland	\$15,000	\$8,335	56%
Philadelphia	\$4,500	\$1,400	31%
Seattle	\$8,000	\$4,174	52%
Twin Cities	\$4,500	\$1,858	41%
Wash., DC	\$8,500	\$1,925	23%
Other			
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$98,300</b>	<b>\$43,348</b>	<b>44%</b>
<b>Should be</b>	<b>\$100,000</b>	<b>\$60,000</b>	<b>60%</b>



# Turkish gov't attacks Kurds

Continued from front page

bilize the region in their imperialist interests. Erdogan's priority is to prevent the emergence of an independent Kurdish region in Syria and the impetus that gives to the Kurdish national struggle within Turkey.

Washington is depending on forces led by the Kurdish People's Protection Units (YPG) in its drive to capture the city of Raqqa in Syria from Islamic State. Syrian Kurdish leaders announced Nov. 6 that the military push towards Raqqa had begun, but warned that it would come to a halt if the Turkish military mounted new attacks on them. Ankara calls the YPG "terrorist" and a wing of the PKK.

"We strongly condemn the arrests of our Co-Chairs Selahattin Demirtas and Figen Yuksekdag as well as our MPs and demand their immediate release," said Hisyar Ozsoy, a vice co-chair of the HDP, in a Nov. 4 statement. "The manufactured charges against them and all other party members must be dropped."

An editorial in the Nov. 4 *Daily Sabah* labeled the HDP "terror-supporting fanatics" and called for it to be outlawed.

## Thousands framed up in Turkey

Thousands of HDP members, officers and elected officials have been imprisoned since June 2015, when it became the first Kurdish-based party to win more than 10 percent of the vote and gain seats in Turkey's parliament. In May, Erdogan's government stripped most HDP legislators of their parliamentary immunity from prosecution. "As he could not prevent us from entering parliament, he now orders us into prison," Ozsoy said.

Kurdish political leaders narrowly escaped a suicide bomb attack on police buildings where they were being detained in Diyarbakir, the main Kurdish city, Nov. 4. Islamic State said it carried out the attack, which killed 11, including a municipal Kurdish leader. Ankara blamed the PKK.

Kurds make up the largest oppressed nationality without their own state. They live in Syria, Iraq, Iran and Turkey, where they comprise some 20 percent of the population. Since the breakdown of a cease-fire in July 2015 with the PKK,

the Turkish army has laid siege to cities and towns across the Kurdish southeast, killing hundreds, including many civilians, and displacing several hundred thousand. Many buildings have been damaged in the offensive, which has included armored vehicles and airstrikes.

Terror attacks by Stalinist PKK forces have killed additional civilians.

The Erdogan government has shuttered Kurdish-language newspapers, radio stations and television channels. Overseas journalists and agencies are barred from visiting the southeast. As it carried out the latest arrests, Ankara shut down the internet in Diyarbakir and blocked social media websites nationwide.

Under the state of emergency adopted July 20 following a failed coup attempt against him, Erdogan and his cabinet can bypass parliament and rule by decree and restrict or suspend rights and freedoms.

Under decrees issued overnight Oct. 30, 10,000 civil servants were dismissed, including academics, teachers and health workers considered disloyal to Erdogan's government. Over 100,000 had already been fired since July, with 37,000 arrested. The targets are both Kurds and alleged followers of former ally cleric Fethullah Gulen, who Erdogan claims masterminded the coup attempt. Gulen has lived in the U.S. since 1999.

The editor and 14 staff were arrested at the prominent daily *Cumhuriyet*, one of the last remaining newspapers not under government control. Since July, 185 media outlets have been closed and over 100 journalists imprisoned.

There are increasing reports of extreme violence and torture against those in jail.

Erdogan plans to change Turkey's constitution to codify the executive powers he has assumed. "I don't care if they call me a dictator," he told the media Nov. 6.

## Conflict over attack on Raqqa

The YPG and allied Arab and Turkmen militias that make up the Syrian Democratic Forces are mounting the assault on Raqqa, backed by U.S. airstrikes and special operations troops.

## Rallies in Australia oppose exclusion of refugees



Militant/Ron Poulsen

SYDNEY — Thousands demonstrated across Australia Nov. 5, including over 4,000 in Sydney (above), protesting government moves to repel asylum-seekers. Demanding "Close Australia's concentration camps" and "No lifetime ban! No offshore processing! Bring them here!" protesters challenged Canberra's plans to pass legislation blocking any chance of resettlement of almost 2,000 asylum-seekers it currently holds "offshore" on Manus Island, Papua New Guinea, and on the Pacific island of Nauru.

In April, the Papua New Guinea Supreme Court ordered the government there to "take all steps necessary to cease and prevent the continued unconstitutional and illegal detention of the asylum-seekers."

In response, the Australian government has moved to pass legislation to prohibit the refugees from ever being allowed into the country. Immigration Minister Peter Dutton said the changes are to end "false hopes" given to asylum-seekers by supporters of the rights of refugees and the media.

The rally was called by Doctors for Refugees. Canberra has tried to legally gag doctors, teachers and other staff from publicizing the abysmal conditions and abuses inside the camps.

A featured speaker was Dr. Munjed Al Muderis, a leading orthopedic surgeon and refugee from Iraq who came by boat to Australia in 1999. He joined other speakers in blaming both the Liberal and Labor parties for stirring up xenophobia over refugee boat arrivals. He called for "a dialogue" with working people concerned about the admission of the asylum-seekers, saying they are often wrongly dismissed "as rednecks or racists."

— LINDA HARRIS

The plan "is to liberate the surrounding countryside, then encircle the city," SDF representative Talal Sillo told The Associated Press Nov. 6. The operation, which involves some 30,000 fighters, is expected to take months.

This operation is timed to coincide with the efforts of Iraqi government troops, peshmerga Kurdish forces and U.S. troops and bombers to oust Islamic State from Mosul. Over Baghdad's opposition, Erdogan has established a military base in Iraq outside Mosul and says

it will defend its interests there.

Raqqa has been controlled by Islamic State since early 2014 and is its leadership center. The Turkish government has been demanding that Washington end collaboration with the SDF and instead support a Turkish-led offensive. Washington says there may be a role for Ankara in the final assault and occupation of Raqqa.

The Turkish military is continuing to attack the SDF as it advances into northern Syria, aiming to block Kurdish forces from linking territory in the east and west that would result in an autonomous Kurdish region along Syria's border with Turkey. Ankara says it intends to push the SDF from cities and towns recently liberated from Islamic State and create a military buffer zone. It is also building a large concrete wall along its 560-mile border with Syria.

# Judge seeks more political cover for NY cop spying

BY NAOMI CRAINE

The fig leaf wasn't big enough. That's the gist of an Oct. 28 decision by Federal Judge Charles Haight that rejected a proposed settlement of two lawsuits seeking to curtail the New York Police Department's widespread spying targeting Muslims and mosques.

Raza v. City of New York was filed in 2013 after press reports exposed extensive cop surveillance of Muslim communities for more than a decade. Handschu v. City of New York, which has spawned a series of changing guidelines on police surveillance, began in 1971 after revelations of widespread

spying against political organizations by NYPD "Red Squads," now revamped as the Intelligence Division and Counter-Terrorism Bureau.

Under the tentative settlement of both suits reached in January, a board composed of 11 senior NYPD officials and one civilian lawyer appointed by the mayor would meet monthly to review secret cop operations targeting political and religious groups. This would supposedly ensure they complied with a revised set of rules known as the Handschu Guidelines.

In rejecting the deal, Haight noted that a recent investigation revealed "a systemic inclination on the part of the Intelligence Bureau to disregard the Guidelines' mandates." He also said the "proposed role and powers of the civilian representative" weren't strong enough.

At the same time, the judge rejected arguments that broad surveillance of Muslim communities is unconstitutional, stating, "NYPD investigations are legal if they comply with the Handschu

Guidelines." Haight instructed lawyers from both sides to work out a new deal.

Based on the record, Judge Haight's bar for protecting constitutional rights isn't very high.

In 1985 Haight signed off on the original settlement in Handschu, establishing rules the cops were to follow for spying on and infiltrating political groups. The Socialist Workers Party was among the groups who had been spied on by the cops and fought against the settlement, which legitimized previously illegal police activity. Others included the National Lawyers Guild, Communist Party, Puerto Rican Socialist Party, National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, National Conference of Black Lawyers and jailed Black Panther Party member Richard Dhoruba Moore.

In the wake of the Sept. 11, 2001, attacks, Haight agreed to modify the Handschu guidelines to give the cops a freer hand in "counterterrorism." Even these minimal rules, he acknowledges today, are "routinely violated" by the NYPD.

**Transit Workers Union Local 100**

**Rally for new contract**

**Tues., Nov. 15, 5-7 p.m.**

MTA headquarters, 2 Broadway

**New York City**

[www.twulocal100.org](http://www.twulocal100.org)

**NORTHEAST TOUR**

**Free Oscar López Rivera!**

Hear **Clarisa López**, daughter of the Puerto Rican independence fighter jailed by Washington more than 35 years, who will present her father's book *Cartas a Karinal Letters to Karina*

**Holyoke, Mass.**

**Sat. Nov. 12, 6 p.m.**

Salsarengue Restaurant, 392 High St.

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**Bronx, New York**

**Sun. Nov. 13, 10:30 a.m.**

Brunch with 35 Mujeres NYC x Oscar and NY Coordinador.

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Info: 646-229-5133



# —ON THE PICKET LINE—

MAGGIE TROWE, EDITOR

## Help the *Militant* cover labor struggles around the world!

This column gives a voice to those engaged in battle and building solidarity today — including workers on strike at Momentive, California port truckers fighting to be classified as workers, not owners, and construction workers demanding safe conditions. I invite those involved in workers' battles to contact me at 306 W. 37th St., 13th Floor, New York, NY 10018; or (212) 244-4899; or themilitant@mac.com. We'll work together to ensure your story is told.

—Maggie Trowe

### Los Angeles port truckers, warehouse workers strike

LOS ANGELES — Owen Vaea joined dozens of other Intermodal Bridge Transport drivers and California Cartage warehouse workers and drivers Oct. 25-26 in a strike to demand workers be treated as employees, not "independent contractors."

"They said they were hiring drivers when I applied four years ago," Vaea said. "I didn't know I was considered an independent contractor until later. They pay us by the load, then deduct costs for insurance, leasing the truck and fuel." The drivers get no pay for wait time, no health insurance and aren't covered by workers compensation if hurt on the job.

"We took up collections for drivers who had a stroke but can't get disability," Vaea said. "Some drivers return to work against doctor's orders to feed their families. When people began to fight it gave me hope."

This was the fifth work stoppage by Cal Cartage workers and the 14th by port truckers and warehouse workers in recent years.

"We're demanding better equipment," said Cal Cartage worker Steve Hatch, who described having to drive unsafe forklifts and work in excessive heat. Workers at the company unload and move merchandise for major retailers Sears, Target and Walmart.

The strike coincided with National Labor Relations Board hearings of cases filed by several IBT drivers demanding to be paid as employees. Three K&R Transportation/California Cartage drivers filed complaints with the California Division of Labor Standards Enforcement earlier in the week demanding reimbursement for illegal deductions, unpaid wages and meal and rest break premiums employers have denied them.

—Laura Garza

### Minnesota nurses end 44-day strike against Allina Health

MINNEAPOLIS — More than 4,000 members of the Minnesota Nurses Association returned to work at five Allina Health hospitals here Oct. 16. They approved a contract after voting down four previous ones and carrying out a 44-day strike, the longest in the union's history.

At the center of the strike, which included a seven-day work stoppage in June and a longer strike that started Labor Day, was Allina's demand that nurses give up their union health care plan in favor of the company plans. Earlier this year some 7,000 union nurses at five other hospital systems in the area ratified a contract that kept the union health care plan intact. Allina refused to do likewise, and hired 1,500 strikebreakers.

The new three-year contract, which includes a 2 percent annual wage increase, accepts the company's health care plan, with a clause guaranteeing benefit levels through 2021 and adding up to \$2,500 over the next five years into nurses' health reimbursement or savings

accounts.

"I'm definitely not happy with how it all panned out," Katie Enright, a nurse for 10 years at Allina, told the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* Oct. 13. "I don't know that we really got a fair contract. I voted yes because I want to get back to work."

—Jacquie Henderson

## Philly transit workers return to work after strike

Continued from front page

to vote Nov. 8. Hillary Clinton was locked in a tight race in Pennsylvania, seeking to turn out a big vote in Philadelphia to offset Donald Trump's support in other parts of the state.

Clinton held a final rally on election eve featuring Bill and Chelsea Clinton, Barack and Michelle Obama, Bruce Springsteen and Bon Jovi.

"They want to make the election bigger than the strike," a bus operator called Brother Bernie told the *Militant* at the Midvale Bus Depot Nov. 6.

"The lesson is to fight for what you want and not back down," operator Samill Peterson said. "We ask for your support and we will support all who fight."

Bosses requested an injunction Nov. 4 in Philadelphia Common Pleas Court seeking to end the strike, which they called a "clear and present danger" to the public's health, safety and welfare. They said the strike would keep children from school, stifle medical treatment and disenfranchise voters. Democratic Gov. Tom Wolf said he would file an amicus brief in support. The Democratic city administration filed a second motion demanding an injunction to force strikers back to work on election day.



Militant/Dennis Richter

Port truckers and warehouse workers picket in front of California Cartage in Los Angeles Oct. 26, part of two-day strike by workers there and against Intermodal Bridge Transport.

Prominent Democratic "friends of labor" — including Mayor Jim Kenney, City Council President Darrell Clarke and U.S. Rep. Bob Brady, a former Carpenters union official — pressed for the strike to end before the election.

A compliant media joined the anti-union campaign, blaming the strike for every conceivable social problem. *Philadelphia Inquirer* headlines included "SEPTA Strike Makes Methadone Clinics Scramble" and "Philly High Schools Bearing Brunt of SEPTA Strike."

Strikers and their supporters blame SEPTA and its drive to wring concessions from workers for the stoppage. They saw the strike as a necessary form of struggle to beat back the bosses' attacks.

SEPTA argued that it had a "defined pool of money" available for the new contract, saying the union must accept that and choose which of their demands to cut.

The company demanded an increase of \$352 a month in what transit workers have to pay for health care.

Strikers patiently explained the difficult working conditions that they face every day and seek to change, including only nine hours recovery time be-

tween shifts, an inadequate five-minute break between bus runs, and only 10 minutes to report in and conduct a safety check on their bus.

"This has to change," said driver Peterson. "This is a serious fatigue and safety issue, including for the riders."

One issue that particularly galled strikers was that their pensions are capped while managers' pensions are not.

Socialist Workers Party vice presidential candidate Osborne Hart walked the picket lines with TWU members at several locations. "SEPTA went right to the courts to try and break the strike," he told strikers Nov. 6. "The bosses do everything they can to slander workers who go on strike, to paint us as greedy and selfish, and to get the courts and cops to limit the effectiveness of our strikes. This injunction is not just about SEPTA and the union here, but what faces unionists everywhere."

"The bosses and their politicians want to weaken and bust our unions, which are the front-line defense organizations of the working class," Hart said. "They fear our capacity to fight, to gain solidarity and to win."

Chris Hoeppe contributed to this article.

## 25, 50, AND 75 YEARS AGO

**THE MILITANT**  
A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

November 22, 1991

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa — "Beyond our expectations." That's how Ahmed Kathrada, who directs the public relations department for the African National Congress (ANC), described the first day of the two-day nationwide general strike here.

More than 3.5 million workers participated in the stay-away that was called in opposition to the government's recently enacted value-added tax system. The strike was called by the trade union ally of the ANC, the Congress of South African Trade Unions, along with another trade union federation, the National Council of Trade Unions. A joint press statement at the end of the first day said it was "the largest ever mass general strike in the history of our country."

In the days leading up to the strike, the big business media went on a campaign to violence-bait the protest.

**THE MILITANT**  
PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE  
NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, FEBRUARY 16, 1959

November 21, 1966

LOWNDES COUNTY, Ala. — On Nov. 8, the Lowndes County Freedom Organization (LCFO) became a recognized political party by polling 41 percent of the vote for county offices. LCFO is widely known as the Black Panther Party because of its symbol.

Over 1,600 Negro voters cast their ballots for the Black Panther. This compares with the 900 who attended a mass meeting in May to nominate the new independent Black party.

Although about 500 Negroes failed to vote as a result of intimidation and fear of economic reprisals, at least 80 percent of Negroes who did vote pulled the lever for the Black Panther in spite of the fact that many of them were being watched by white plantation owners.

Because so few Negroes in Lowndes have cars, a mass transportation network was organized to bring Negroes to the polls.

**THE MILITANT**  
Official Weekly Organ of the Socialist Workers Party

November 22, 1941

The Roosevelt administration faces its gravest domestic political crisis as the 53,000 workers of the steel corporations' "captive" coal mines hold their picket lines fast in an overwhelming response to the strike call issued by the United Mine Workers, CIO.

Roosevelt has run into a solid wall of united CIO resistance in his attempt to use the "captive" mine controversy as a wedge for the open shop throughout all industry and to enforce his "no-strike" policy. The CIO national convention, representing 5,000,000 organized workers entrenched in the basic industries, has voted unanimous support for the striking miners.

Roosevelt threatened that he would use armed force and anti-strike legislation to smash the "captive" mine strike. But these threats failed to intimidate the CIO into deserting the miners.



6      **The Militant    November 21, 2016**



# Clinton presidency: Incarceration, deportations soar

Below are excerpts from the new book *The Clintons' Anti-Working-Class Record: Why Washington Fears Working People* by Jack Barnes, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party. This section is based on a public talk given in March 2001, just after President Bill Clinton left office. Copyright © 2016 by Pathfinder Press. Reprinted by permission.

BY JACK BARNES

During the eight years of the Clinton presidency, between 1993 and 2001, the number of people locked behind bars in US prisons jumped by nearly 60 percent. While the United States has 5 percent of the world's population, today it has 25 percent of the world's prisoners.

## FROM THE PAGES OF THE CLINTONS' ANTI-WORKING-CLASS RECORD

As throughout history, the overwhelming majority of those incarcerated are workers, with “the law” coming down disproportionately on those who are Black, Latino, or Native American. Today fully one of every three young males who are Black is either in prison, on parole, or on probation. Lockdowns and solitary confinement, with their dehumanizing effects — designed to make you feel helpless and worthless — are increasingly the norm. ...

It's also necessary for class-conscious workers to recognize, explain, and raise our voices against the outrage that nowhere is the denial of the franchise to working people more far-reaching than in US prisons. Forty-eight out of the fifty states, as well as



Number of workers behind bars grew nearly 60 percent during years of Clinton presidency. In 2015 there were 1.5 million people in federal and state prisons, 750,000 in local jails, 4.8 million on probation or parole. Above, overcrowding at California state prison, Los Angeles, 2006.

the federal government, bar prisoners sentenced on felony charges from voting while incarcerated (and many while on parole or probation). Twelve states disenfranchise certain people even *after* they're no longer behind bars or on parole or probation, in several cases *permanently*.<sup>1</sup>

### No human being is ‘illegal’

In 1996 Clinton signed into law the condescendingly named Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act, adopted by a Republican Congress. That law expands the powers of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS)<sup>2</sup> to round up and deport those charged with being “illegal” immigrants without the right to judicial review or appeal. Simultaneously the White House and Congress funded the expansion of the

hated *la migra* into the largest federal cop agency, one that has stepped up factory raids and deportations to record numbers in recent years.

Far from aiming to stem the flow of labor from the Americas and elsewhere into the United States, the rulers need immigrant workers as a superexploitable labor pool and intend for their repressive measures to heighten insecurity and fear among them. Maintaining this second-class status for immigrants is one of the ways the employers promote competition and conflict among workers in order to press down wages and conditions of the entire working class and further divide and weaken the unions and efforts to organize the unorganized.

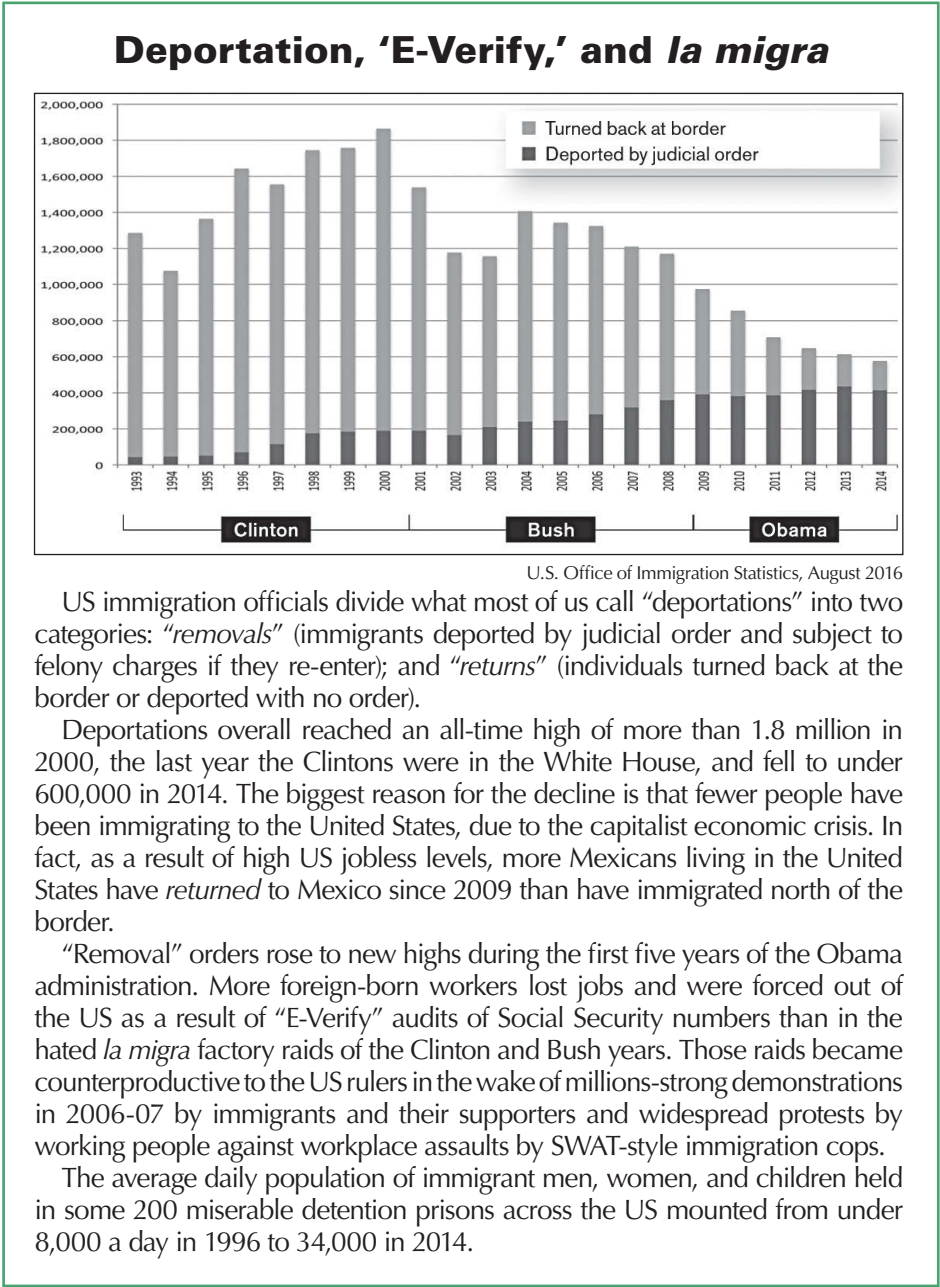
Under the Star Chamber provisions of the 1996 Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act (once again, the name itself stands in condemnation of its ruling-class authors), the US government has stepped up its “preventive detention” of individuals on the basis of “secret evidence.” Most are immigrants from Arab or other majority Muslim countries accused of links with “terrorist organizations” — the code word the US rulers increasingly use to rationalize

both assaults on democratic rights at home and military strikes abroad (actually mass murder from the air).

The Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act also greatly weakens centuries-old habeas corpus protections, making it much easier for federal judges all the way up to the Supreme Court to deny the release or refuse to commute the death sentences of prisoners presenting evidence they were erroneously incarcerated or wrongly condemned to death. Among other things, the law denies the right of death-row prisoners to submit more than one habeas corpus petition for federal court review of their cases — “one strike” and you're out.

As a result of this legislation, together with the Illegal Immigrant Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act, the number of immigrants held in US immigration jails any given day awaiting the outcome of threatened deportations has jumped to some 20,000 people at the opening of the new century — a 245 percent increase just since 1996.

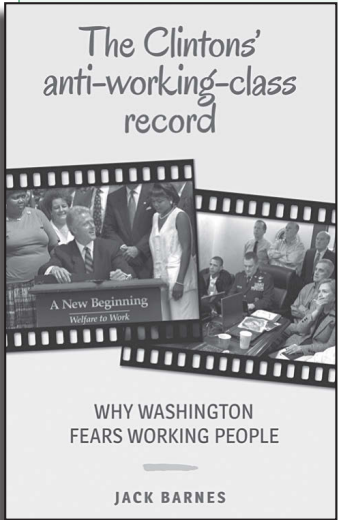
1. This would be inexcusable even if only a handful of workers and others were denied voting rights in this way. But that's not the case. In 2016 nearly 6 million people — some 2.5 percent of the adult US population — have temporarily or forever lost the right to cast a ballot due to a felony conviction. In Alabama, Florida, Kentucky, Mississippi, Tennessee, and Virginia, more than 7 percent of the adult population was barred from voting on this basis in 2010. Nationwide nearly 8 percent of African American men are disenfranchised, with between 20 percent and 23 percent in Florida, Kentucky, and Virginia! ...
2. In March 2003, as part of a post-9/11 reorganization of federal police and spying agencies, the state functions carried out by the INS were transferred from the Department of Justice to the newly formed Department of Homeland Security and divided among three bodies: US Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE); US Customs and Border Protection (CBP); and US Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS).



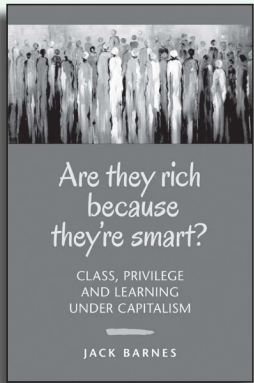
## It's their system that's deplorable, not us!

Three books for today's deepening debate among working people looking for a way forward in face of capitalism's global economic crisis, social calamity and spreading wars.

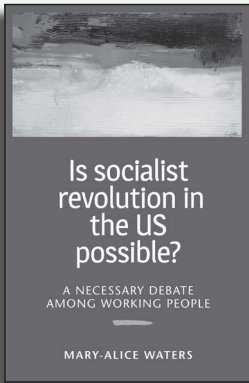
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# ‘A ‘revolutionary’ who doesn’t behave as such is a charlatan’

Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War 1956-58 by Ernesto Che Guevara is one of Pathfinder’s Books of the Month for November. In this excerpt from “A Sin of the Revolution,” Guevara, a central leader of the Cuban Revolution, describes the treachery of a group that called itself the Second National Front of the Escambray. That guerrilla organization had been formed in 1957 on the initiative of the Revolutionary Directorate, which joined forces with the July 26 Movement led by Fidel Castro that was fighting to overturn the dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista and lead the workers and farmers of Cuba to power. The Second Front carried out bandit-type actions and was expelled from the Directorate in mid-1958. Its leaders refused to collaborate with the July 26 Movement column led by Guevara, and most of them joined the counterrevolution after the revolutionary victory in January 1959. Guevara describes the lessons learned from his experiences with this group. Copyright © 1996 by Pathfinder Press. Reprinted by permission.

## BOOKS OF THE MONTH

BY ERNESTO CHE GUEVARA

Revolutions are radical and accelerated social transformations made under specific circumstances. They rarely, if ever, emerge fully ripe,



Institute of Cuban History

Che Guevara, center with stick, with column members and peasants in Sierra Maestra, 1958. When Che’s column moved to Escambray Mountains, he said they committed a “sin” by not dealing decisively with guerrilla group whose leaders were betraying revolutionary principles.

and not all their details are scientifically foreseen. They are products of passion, of improvisation by human beings in their struggle for social change, and are never perfect. Our revolution was no exception. It committed errors, and some of these cost us dearly. Today one such error has been shown to us, although its repercussions have been few. Nonetheless, it demonstrates the truth of the popular sayings: “The leopard never changes his spots” and “Birds of a feather flock together.”

When the troops of the invasion column reached the foothills of the Escambray — in great pain, their feet bloodied and lacerated by diseases caused by fungus, keeping themselves going on faith alone, after forty-five days on the march — they were greeted by an unusual letter. It was signed by Commander [Jesús] Carreras, and it stated that the column of the revolutionary army under my command was prohibited from entering the Escambray without a clear explanation of what we were doing there. Before entering I was instructed to halt right there and give them an explanation. We were to halt in the open plains, under those conditions, threatened constantly with enemy encirclement, which we could escape only through our rapid movement! That was the essence of the long and insolent letter.

We continued ahead, perplexed, sorry that we were unable to wait for those who proclaimed themselves our

comrades in struggle, but determined to resolve any problem and carry out the express orders of Commander in Chief Fidel Castro, who had clearly ordered us to work for the unity of all combatants.

We reached the Escambray and made camp near Del Obispo peak, which is visible from Sancti Spiritus and has a cross on its summit. There we were able to establish our first camp, and we immediately looked for a house where we were supposed to find the most precious items to a guerrilla fighter: shoes. There were no shoes; they had been taken by the forces of the Second Front of the Escambray, despite having been obtained by the July 26 Movement. A storm was brewing. Nevertheless, we succeeded in staying calm, talking to some captain, who later informed us he had murdered four combatants of the people who wanted to abandon the Second Front and join the revolutionary ranks of the July 26 Movement. We had a discussion with Commander Carreras, unfriendly but not heated. He had already drunk half a bottle of liquor, which was approximately half his daily quota. He was not as gross and aggressive in person as was his missive of a few days earlier, but we saw in him an enemy. ...

After many trials and tribulations, too long to relate, where our patience was tested an infinite number of times — and where, according to the correct criticism made by Fidel, we put up with more than we should have —

we reached a “truce.” They permitted us to make the agrarian reform in the entire area belonging to the Second Front, as long as we permitted them to collect taxes. Collect taxes — that was the watchword. ...

From the very first days serious differences arose that sometimes culminated in violent exchanges of words. But what appeared to be revolutionary good sense on our part always prevailed, and we gave way for the sake of unity. We maintained principles. We did not permit theft, nor did we give out key positions to those we knew to be potential traitors. But we did not eliminate them; we temporized, always on behalf of some vague and poorly understood unity. This was a *sin of the revolution*. ...

They lived off fairy tales of a struggle in which they did nothing, duping the people, looking for posts, always trying to get closer to where money was ripe for the picking, “inciting” in all the cabinet ministries. In this they were scorned by all pure revolutionaries. Yet we allowed them to function, albeit gritting our teeth. All this was an insult to our revolutionary conscience. Their presence constantly revealed to us our sin: the sin of laxness in the face of absence of revolutionary spirit; in the face of potential traitors; in the face of weakness of spirit, cowardice, thievery, and “cattle rustling.”

Our conscience has now been cleared because they have all gone, [to Miami], in little boats. Thank you so much for relieving us of the detestable presence of self-appointed commanders, of ridiculous captains, of heroes unfamiliar with the rigors of military life but not the easy seizure of peasant homes. ...

People like the incurable thieves, complicit in murders against the people. People like the “cattle rustlers,” whose “great feats” were carried out against the masses of peasants they murdered in the Escambray, sowing more terror than Batista’s army itself. They are our conscience. They remind us of our sin, a sin of the revolution that must not be repeated, a lesson we must learn.

Revolutionary conduct is a mirror of revolutionary faith. When someone who calls himself a revolutionary does not behave as such, he is simply a charlatan.

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# Build the SWP, the party workers need

*The following statement was issued Nov. 9 by Alyson Kennedy, a member of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party who ran as the party's candidate for U.S. president.*

The 2016 election campaign was a victory for the Socialist Workers Party. Thousands of workers across the country today know more about the party and its program. Party members and supporters gained an unprecedented hearing going door to door in cities and small towns, from coal miners in West Virginia to farmworkers in California, discussing a working-class perspective in face of the historic crisis of the capitalist system we're living through. And we continue to do so today, tomorrow and thereafter.

Donald Trump and the other Republicans and Democrats elected yesterday become the managing committee entrusted by the propertied ruling families to run U.S. capitalism's political affairs. Today that means attacks on workers' wages, working conditions and political rights, and using Washington's military to defend U.S. imperialist interests, at the expense of workers' lives here and around the world.

The SWP explains above all why the capitalist rulers — including all the politicians who serve them in the Democratic and Republican parties alike — increasingly *fear* working people. They have no way out

of the crisis of their system except to deepen their attacks on us. They fear that their offensive against our class will lead us to the political road, and the sense of self-worth gained through struggle and human solidarity, to take power out of their hands.

The Socialist Workers Party discusses why the working class needs to unite in defense of its own interests, and not fall into the trap of looking to the bosses and their parties. What a contrast to the bourgeois candidates! Hillary Clinton contemptuously called workers who refuse to vote for her “deplorables.” Donald Trump demagogically tries to turn us against each other, targeting Mexicans, Muslims and women.

We point to what our class is capable of, including the example set by workers and farmers in Cuba. They've shown in practice that we *can* overcome the divisions the rulers sow among us, that we *can* make a socialist revolution and establish a government that acts in our interests, extending solidarity to fellow workers around the world. That's why Washington never stops searching for a way to overturn the Cuban Revolution, and why the SWP has never stopped defending it and demanding an end to the U.S. embargo.

The outcome of yesterday's vote changes nothing for the working class and the challenges we face. The Socialist Workers Party will keep building the party workers need. I invite you to join us.

## Election reflects effects of capitalist crisis

**Continued from front page**  
hours after the election.

Millions of workers have grown frustrated and angry by the impact of years of smoldering depression conditions on their lives and refusal of any party in Washington to do anything about it. They don't buy President Barack Obama's assurances, echoed by Clinton, that “America's economy is not just better than it was eight years ago — it is the strongest, most durable economy in the world.”

Most workers face a sharply different reality — high unemployment and underemployment, speedup and unsafe working conditions, and an epidemic of opiate addiction and other social disasters arising from the moral and political crisis of capitalism.

“Far from representing a sweeping victory for the right, Trump's election shows the impact of years of capitalist crisis on working people,” Alyson Kennedy, who ran as presidential candidate for the Socialist Workers Party, told the *Militant* Nov. 9.

“There is a hunger among workers for a way forward. Before the election and after, the SWP is focused on talking with workers on their doorsteps,” she said. “Many respond to our call for uniting workers to organize unions, oppose Washington's wars, support a woman's right to choose abortion, defend immigrants from attacks and oppose attacks on Muslims and mosques. They are open to what we say about ending the capitalist dictatorship and establishing a workers and farmers government.”

### **Vote doesn't reflect workers shifting to right**

Trump won despite his demagogic attacks on immigrants, Muslims, women and others, not because of them. He tapped into working-class discontent, running as an “outsider.” He defeated 16 opponents for the Republican nomination, attracting crowds of workers in the hard-hit industrial states by talking about the working class and the grinding crisis they face.

“If we had 5 percent unemployment do you really think we'd have these gatherings?” he asked.

He won the election in part by being seen as the lesser evil by millions of workers in the Midwest and elsewhere who are Caucasian and who voted for Obama's promise of “change” and didn't get it.

In his victory speech Trump demagogically pledged to “fix our inner cities and rebuild our highways, bridges, tunnels, airports, schools, hospitals. We're going to rebuild our infrastructure” and “put millions of our people to work as we rebuild it.”

It's possible the rulers may take steps to try and achieve some economic stability, but they won't touch

the underlying crisis and it will not last.

The Clinton camp and the majority of the ruling-class media, oblivious to what most workers face, said the interest in Trump was the reaction of racists and rightists. But Trump's election doesn't reflect a shift to the right in the working class. Above all it reflects workers' search for change from years of depression conditions and wars, seen through the distorted lens of the bourgeois elections.

Trump appealed to African-Americans, saying, “I will be your greatest champion.” He won 8 percent of the African-American vote compared to Mitt Romney's 6 percent four years ago, while Clinton won 88 percent, down from 93 percent Obama won in 2012.

Clinton's backers placed great hopes in a big turn-out by Blacks frightened about Trump. But many remember the Bill Clinton administration championing laws that increased incarceration rates and “ended welfare as we know it,” disproportionately affecting workers who are Black.

### **Workers distrusted both candidates**

Both candidates were viewed with distrust by the majority of workers. Exit polls showed 71 percent who voted believe those without papers working in the U.S. should be offered legal status, 68 percent are bothered by Trump's treatment of women, and 73 percent are angry with the federal government — all wings of it.

Many didn't like Clinton's attraction to the use of U.S. military might abroad — from Libya to her call for the Pentagon to enforce a no-fly zone in Syria, risking a conflict with Moscow.

Both capitalist parties have been and remain divided and in crisis. Many Republican officials and candidates refused to back or vote for Trump.

The Occupy Wall Street wing of the Democratic Party, led by Massachusetts Sen. Elizabeth Warren and former presidential candidate Vermont Sen. Bernie Sanders, will be emboldened by the election returns. Campaigning for Clinton at Iowa State University Nov. 5, Sanders had no comment when Kaleb Vanfosson, president of the Students for Bernie club, was forcibly removed from the stage after saying that there was no point in voting for Clinton.

As has happened four other times in U.S. history, it looks like Clinton actually won the majority of votes. But the U.S. electoral college system means that Trump carried enough states that a Clinton challenge in any one of them wouldn't make a difference. The Republican Party, with all its divisions, will control the presidency and both houses of the bosses' Congress on Inauguration Day, Jan. 20, 2017.

## Economic ‘recovery’

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on a rise of exports, especially soybeans and other grains, and a buildup of the bosses' inventories. At the same time companies' investment in plant and equipment continues to decline.

Since the 1970s a downward curve of world capitalism's accumulation and profit rates has discouraged the bosses from investing in expanding industrial capacity and hiring. Instead, they've turned to hoarding cash or speculating on stocks, bonds, derivatives or other forms of commercial paper.

This is what led to the massive buildup in toxic subprime housing loans, packaged together and sold for speculative investment, that imploded in 2008.

Today there is a spiraling auto sales credit bubble with outstanding car loans now topping \$1.1 trillion. Subprime auto loans, which account for about one-third of all new car purchases, have grown to \$38 billion, up from \$2 billion eight years ago. These loans have high interest rates, ranging from 10 percent to as much as 25 percent over six to eight years.

Increasing numbers of workers — 1.6 million in 2015 — are having their cars seized by banks and other loan agencies. It's glory days for the repo man.

### **Grain farmers face economic ruin**

The bosses' financial press says trade is on the upswing. “Ships laden with millions of tonnes of US-grown wheat, corn and soybeans have been leaving ports,” reported the *Financial Times* Nov. 3.

But grain farmers face economic ruin. Reuters ran an Oct. 31 article titled, “Fields of Debt: Falling Prices, Borrowing Binge Haunt Midwest ‘Go-Go Farmers.’”

For the third year in a row farm incomes are declining. With a glut of overproduction and falling commodity prices, grain farmers in Iowa, Indiana and Illinois face rising debts to meet costs of producing wheat, corn and soybeans. Corn, which topped \$8 a bushel in the summer of 2012, is now at \$3.50. Soybeans prices collapsed from nearly \$18 to less than \$10. Soft red winter wheat dropped from \$9 a bushel to \$4.

Production of these crops is expected to reach record levels this fall, as the giant food corporate monopolies — Archer Daniels Midland, Bunge, Cargill and Dreyfus, which control more than 75 percent of global grain trade — seek to expand exports. Feeling the worst effects are working farmers, many of whom borrowed heavily to expand their farms in a desperate effort to plant their way out of a commodity price crash. “Delinquency rates on farmland and production loans are rising sharply,” reported Reuters. Bankruptcy filings for smaller farmers were up 51 percent compared to 2013.

The fact is, world trade is slowing. The volume of global trade was flat in the first quarter of 2016, then fell by 0.8 percent in the second quarter. The *New York Times* said this is “the first time since World War II that trade with other nations has declined during a period of economic growth.”

Millions of workers have had to accept part-time, temporary, on-call or contract work at lower wages and fewer or no benefits. This has accounted for “virtually all America's job growth since 2005,” the *Christian Science Monitor* said. The paper cites a study by Harvard and Princeton economists saying that only 6 percent of the 9.1 million net jobs created over the past decade were regular full-time positions.

Some 94 million workers in the EU face the same situation, the McKinsey Global Institute reports.

The official unemployment rate for October was 4.9 percent and 161,000 jobs were created, the Labor Department said. But manufacturing jobs dropped by 9,000 while low-paying health care jobs rose by 30,500. At the same time, 425,000 “discouraged” workers were wiped out from the workforce.

The so-called labor force participation rate — the percentage of workers who are working or jobless but “actively” looking for work — remains below 63 percent, a 40-year low. More than 94 million people over the age of 16 are not part of the workforce.

In September, 11.4 percent of men between the ages of 25 and 54 were not part of the workforce, a percentage that has risen from less than 4 percent in the 1950s.

Behind all these numbers is the reality facing the majority of working people — economic stagnation, paychecks that run out before you get the next one and nothing different in sight except a new and explosive downturn to come.